WISCONSIN

They Defeated 'COPE' Congressmen

New Conservative Congressmen Will Tell How They Did It
At The HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference

In the 1960 elections, a disciplined army of one million liberal-labor precinct workers—COPE-trained and union paid—sought to repeat their success of the 1958 elections. Despite that massive effort, the net result of Walter Reuther's 1960 campaign was a minus.

Reversing the 1958 results, the voters of 1960 cut deeply into Reuther's privately owned flock of COPE-kept Congressmen, and sent to Washington in their place a round score of young conservatives. These new Congressmen won their elections in the face of all-out efforts by the AFL-CIO. Their opponents were, for the most part, incumbents. The freshmen campaigned on clearly conservative principles. They proved that CONSERVATIVES CAN WIN!

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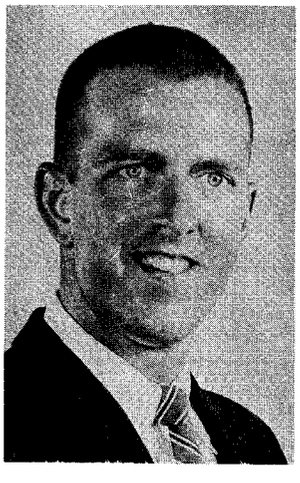
Already, two of them have volunteered to share the story of their campaign success at the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference, to be held next January 6 and 7 in the Nation's Capital.



PETER GARLAND of Maine had to deal not only with Reuther, but also with the NEA-backed Maine Teachers' Association, because he flatly opposed Federal aid to education. Garland defeated incumbent Democrat James C. Oliver (ACA-Index Rating: Zero) by 12,000 votes in a district which only two years ago gave Oliver a 4,000 vote majority.

DON BRUCE from Indianapolis will tell how he challenged the labor-backed incumbent, Joe Barr (ACA-Index Rating: 17). Proclaiming himself a "Goldwater Republican," he pointed out his opponent's betrayal of conservative Hoosier ideals and walked away with the race.

DON'T YOU WISH YOU HAD A CONGRESSMAN LIKE THIS?

Conservatives can win. If *your* congressional district is not represented by a conservative now, *why not elect one in* 1962? It doesn't take millions of dollars or millions of people—IT TAKES KNOW-HOW! The kind of know-how that you can get at the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference.

In addition to *education,* there will be *inspiration.* Can you imagine four more inspiring figures than Barry Goldwater, Strom Thurmond, Bruce Alger, and Walter Judd, Republican keynoter? Each of them will address you, and you can't afford to miss Fulton Lewis, Jr., who will, as usual, boil down the trimmings and get at the lean, red meat of the new Congress. And of course, there will be many, many others who could prove to be the "hits" of the conference, since all of the speakers represent the cream of the conservative "crop."

HOW CAN YOU AFFORD NOT TO COME?

HUMAN EVENTS will hold the Political Action Conference at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C. next January 6 and 7.

Leading Senators, Representatives, and noted Washington correspondents will be Conference speakers. They will appraise the consequences of the election. In the seminar discussions, they will tell you what you can do back home to promote sound legislation and defeat unsound legislation.

The pressures of inflationary spending programs have been growing. The demagogs and the con men have been promising a Santa Claus government. The egghead Americans for Democratic Action and

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COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO, are working for the creation of a centralized all-powerful Federal Government, the blueprint for socialism.

HUMAN EVENTS aims to rally together in Washington those who believe in limited constitutional government, states' rights, private enterprise and individual freedom.

On your calendar, mark those dates, Friday and Saturday, January 6 and 7. Plan to attend. Fee: $75. For additional members of the same family, $45. Fee for attendance at all sessions includes the two lunches and the two dinners (Friday and Saturday). Hotel accommodations and breakfasts, extra. Rooms at the Willard Hotel are priced at: Singles, $10 and up, Doubles, $17 and up.

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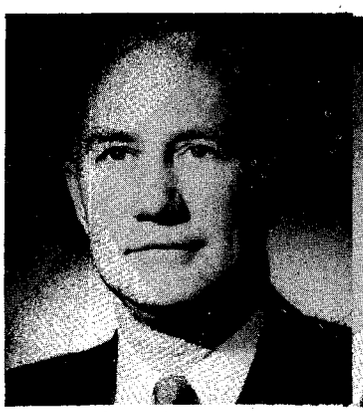
Senator from Arizona



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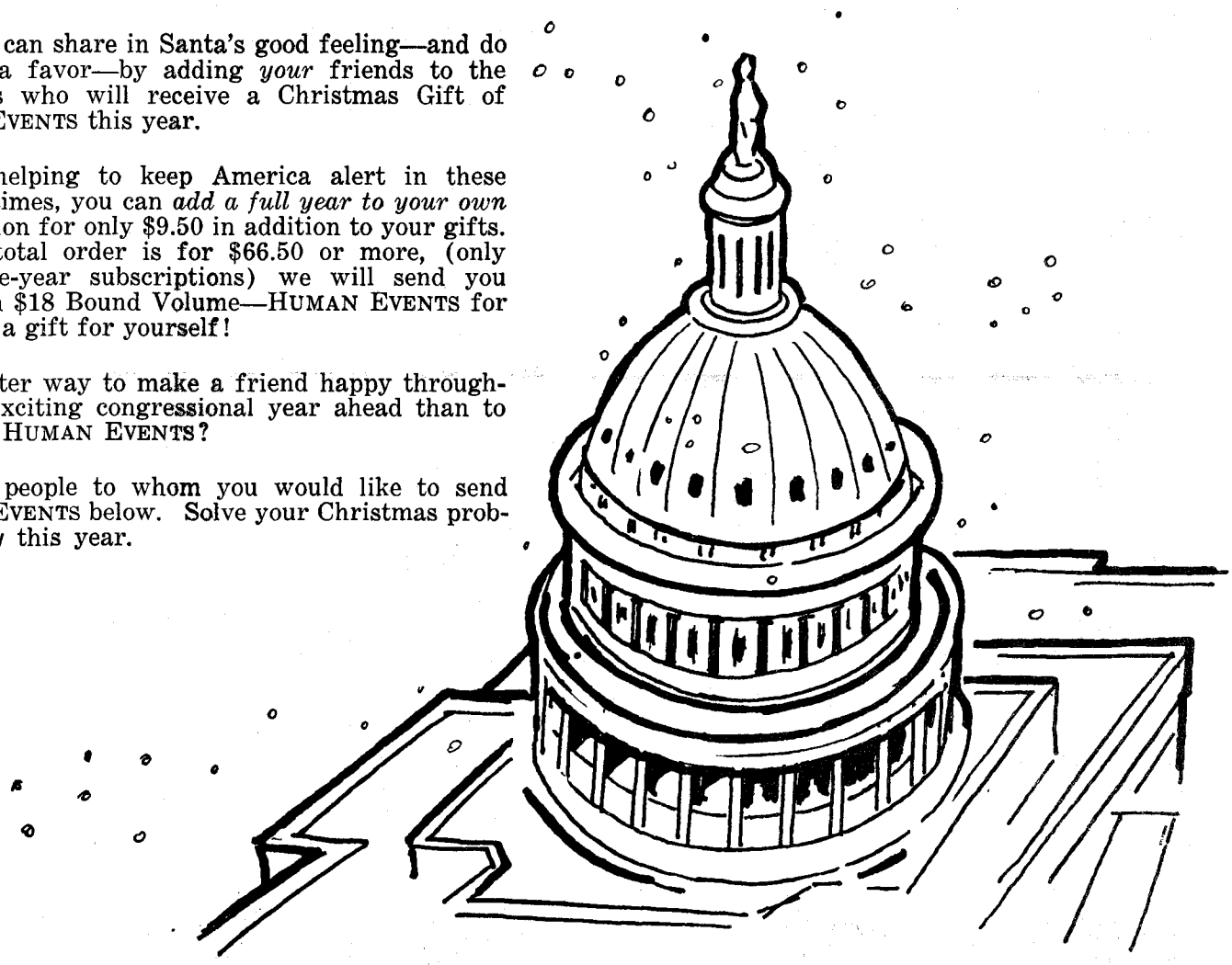

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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 49 December 8, 1960 Section I — News

ELECTION: *Ike, Sherman Adams to blame* (609)

KENNEDY: *Appoints Reutherite first* ..... (610)

ROCKY: *GOP's best bet—just ask him* .... (610)

HCUA: *Liberals smear Red riot film* ..... (611)

GOLD: *Our dollars and divisions in Germany* (612)

Frauds and Postmortems: Scuttlebutt in the Capital says that Ike, disgusted with the election defeat, is insisting on recounts in close states, in the hope that exposure of Democratic election frauds (such as in Chicago) will switch a sufficient number of electoral votes to make Nixon President. Whatever may be the outcome, GOP pros in the Capital—somewhat dubious from past disillusioning experiences with recounts—have started talking about the real responsibility for these frauds.

They place the onus right on Ike, himself, and the Modern Republican advisers surrounding him, who shaped his political policies after 1953. Under "Assistant President" Sherman Adams, reigning Modern Republicans set a policy of exalting the President—a veritable Caesar cult—and played down the rank and file of the GOP. In the 1956 Presidential campaign, for instance, it was a matter of much indignant comment that Ike and the top campaign speakers rarely mentioned the Republican party by name.

The thinking behind this was that Ike (whose name the Moderns used in a collective sense for the entire Executive branch, including themselves) was of supreme importance and the party in the states and in Congress of minor importance.

In this same pattern, naturally, was the denial of patronage and favors to the rank and file of the GOP; Ike's appointment of Democrats to many government jobs had a ruinous effect on GOP party morale in all the states and constituencies. In many places, the local party organizations simply withered and, in effect, died.

Hence, the moral drawn by the pros today is that if Ike had pursued a contrary course, had invigorated the party ranks by open association with them and by helping them concretely, local GOP party organizations would have proved strong enough to prevent the 1960 election frauds perpetrated in such places as Cook County, Illinois—frauds which may have lost the election for the Republicans.

It is reported from Philadelphia that the great Democratic success in winning that city by a surprising majority—and thereby swinging all of Pennsylvania's electoral votes—was due less to fraud than to the virtual non-existence of the Quaker City GOP machine. When reproached for the abysmal showing in the election, the GOP leader, Austin Meehan, is reported to have said:

"Well we have had no patronage or help from Washington for eight long years since the Republican Administration has been in power." It's an argument that other pros in all parts of the country can understand.

It is significant that since the departure of Sherman Adams from the White House (in 1958), there has developed more interest in party fortunes than previously and more White House help for members of Congress and local party organizations has been in evidence. This may explain the improvement in local party efforts in various places (but still too few) in the recent election. (See "Election Aftermath" on page 611.)

When the Republican National Committee meets in the Capital early in January, it is expected to deal with rank-and-file demands for a full-time, fully paid National Chairman who will re-build the party from the grass roots.

Negro Appointments: Stressing that Kennedy carried a dozen states only because he got a near-unanimous colored vote, Negro publications and organizations are demanding recognition. The National Bar Association (Negro) has indicated that it will insist upon the elevation to the Supreme Court of Judge William H. Hastie of the Federal Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. Justices Frankfurter and Black are expected to retire soon. For the Cabinet, Negro groups expect two men to be considered: Congressman Dawson as Postmaster-General and Ralph Bunche as Secretary of State, or at least as UN Ambassador.

Kennedy aides asked Negro leaders to be "patient." They promise that by January 1, 1963, the centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation, a Negro will be on the Supreme Court and another in the Cabinet. At this moment, say the Kennedy lieutenants, priority must be given to getting through Congress the hundred-day program. They say Negroes have a big stake in medicare, minimum wage, 39 weeks of unemployment benefits, the de-

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pressed areas bill. If Negro appointments to Cabinet and Supreme Court positions stir up the opposition of Southern members of Congress, the Kennedy Program will be sabotaged.

But Negro leaders know what the election returns say, and they are in no mood for compromise. They want the appointments listed above. The NAACP wants HR 1 to be Civil Rights. They want enfeeblement of the House Rules Committee and the anti-filibuster program to be the first order of business.

Appointment No. 1: Kennedy's very first appointment since the election suggests the strong role Walter Reuther's influence may play in the Democratic Administration. The President-elect named Michigan Governor G. Mennen Williams as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, even before he named Governor Ribicoff to be Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Soapy Williams, Reuther's henchman, lost the confidence of the people of Michigan who had seen the state go bankrupt under his reign; hence, months ago he announced he was retiring from the Governorship. As a Reuther stalwart, he requested a Cabinet post, but Kennedy managers let it be known he would not get one. Then, Reuther's GHQ in Detroit reportedly appealed to Kennedy to give Soapy "something." He did.

Ironically, Kennedy announced the appointment, saying, "As chairman of the subcommittee on Africa in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I learned the importance of Africa." HUMAN EVENTS reported during the campaign that for two years under Kennedy this subcommittee never held a hearing or rendered a report.

State Department reaction is one of indignation. Diplomats point out that never before has a subsidiary official in State been named before the Secretary of State was appointed. Additionally—and more importantly—State Department circles claim that Reuther's friends will receive about half of the Ambassadorships to the new African republics.

Rocky: Unimpeded by bashfulness, New York's ego-charged Governor Nelson Rockefeller last week announced his intention to run for re-election—two full years before the event and even before the final count on this year's national election is in.

To observers, Rocky's crack-of-dawn decision was a clear indication that he was wasting no time in attempting to set himself up as a leading GOP spokesman and contender for the 1964 Presidential nomination. The pro-Rocky press took its cue immediately. Said the New York *Herald-Tribune*: "Mr. Nixon's loss to Senator Kennedy was a further advance for Governor Rockefeller, although it would be unfair to suggest that the Governor sees it in precisely those terms. This succession of events places Governor Rockefeller in a solid position to remind fellow Republicans that he is far from through . . . he is ready and eager for whatever other mantles the fates of politics [have in store] . . . ."

Washington is amused at the obvious intent of the Rockefeller forces to use the New York Governorship "as a springboard to the Presidency." For it is suspected that Rocky's press friends will be the first to cry that Nixon wants only to "use" the California Governorship as a Presidential springboard should he decide to run for it in 1962.

One major factor blocking Rocky's Presidential ambitions is the resentment toward him which has built up in Republican ranks since election day. It has become so intense that New York State Chairman (and close Rockefeller associate) L. Judson Morhouse has felt obliged to lash out at "insinuations made in some quarters" that Rocky didn't give his all while campaigning for Nixon. Rocky's propagandists remind the press that the Governor made 237 speeches during the campaign in 50 of New York's 62 counties.

The liberal New York *Post,* favorite of New York's ultra-leftists (and extremely fond of Rocky, the paper's choice for Governor in 1958), may have rendered the best post-election analysis of Rocky's efforts: "Obviously Rockefeller went through all the motions; perhaps, however, the electorate has learned to detect the difference between motion and emotion. Conceivably it has been demonstrated anew that a man who doesn't have his heart in his mission is a poor, unpersuasive advocate, no matter how hard he tries to pretend allegiance to the cause in which he doesn't believe."

Goldwater: Considerable notice was taken in GOP ranks last week of Barry Goldwater's Los Angeles remarks regarding Nixon. Goldwater said that Ike, not Nixon, was the party's leader and would remain as such until January 20. "It seems to me," the Arizonan said, "Nixon would have to be elected a Governor, a Congressman or some other public official to maintain a forum for his political views." It is realized that Los Angeles is the seat of Republican power in California, and it may be that Goldwater's views reflect those of the GOP pace setters in the area, not to mention the influential Los Angeles *Times.* If Nixon runs for office, it will have to be in California.

Chicago Vote Scandal: The ballot fraud in Cook County widens and casts what may prove a permanent shadow on the election of the incoming Kennedy Administration. Whether Illinois records its 27 votes in the Electoral College weeks hence depends on further developments in the furious fight Republicans in that state are making to expose glaring discrepancies in the vote counting which was controlled by the Cook County Democratic machine of Mayor Daley.

It has now been ascertained as an unchallenged fact that the 50th precinct of the 2nd Ward certified 77 ballots cast (74 for Kennedy, 3 for Nixon), although only 22 persons were eligible to vote in that precinct. Also, it now is revealed that ballot applications for another gravely suspected precinct have been apparently stolen from a safe in City Hall as the Republican probers were about to close

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in. Meanwhile, the Daley machine has slowed recounting to such a pace that it would require six months to finish the job.

In Washington, these developments have been readily likened to somewhat similar scandals which happened in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1947, *when reform forces sought to oust the corrupt incumbent Democratic ticket of which President Harry Truman was a sponsor. Indeed, on Capitol Hill the Daley machine is now compared to the organization of Boss Pendergast of K.C., who put Truman into the Senate.*

Indeed, recently worried Democrats in the Capital, concerned lest Kennedy fail to receive the necessary electoral votes from Illinois, now feel reassured. These Democrats, lawyers with their Phi Beta Kappa pins swaying over well-fed middles, were heard to say, "Don't worry, Mayor Daley will deliver the votes."

Election Aftermath: Although most voters realize that the conservatives gained in Congress during the recent elections, it is not generally realized that this was also true of many state legislatures around the country.

The AFL-CIO *News* lamented that "the trend was a return to conservative domination of the legislatures." The scoreboard shows that the Republicans won back both houses of the Ohio and Idaho legislatures, regained control of the South Dakota Senate, broke a legislative tie in Michigan and won the lower houses of the legislature from the Democrats in Connecticut, Illinois, Montana, Wisconsin and Wyoming. Especially disquieting to the labor bosses is that labor is currently driving to repeal Right-to-Work laws in six of the 19 states in which they are on the books. Of the six—Utah, the Dakotas, Kansas, Iowa and Indiana—the Democrats picked up legislative strength only in Utah.

Of prime importance is that the state legislatures will play a key role in the reapportionment of congressional delegations in the 25 states which will, in accord with the 1960 census, gain or lose seats before the next general election. Congressional district gerrymandering in these states will naturally favor the party with a majority in each legislature.

But although the labor bosses are having unhappy moments as they sift through the returns, many Republicans are vexed at the results. They argue that, with the evident grass-roots trend toward conservatism, the GOP should have done better in these races and should hold many more governorships than the present lineup of 34 Democrats to only 16 Republicans.

It is noted that, before Dwight Eisenhower received the GOP Presidential nomination in 1952, the Republicans had chief executives in 25 of the then 48 states. The GOP sweep that year raised the number to 30. But since Ike's first big victory, critics say, the Republican party has too often been content to ride on the coattails of a highly popular but a politically disinterested President. The result of such lagging by party organizations and workers in much of the country is reflected in this gubernatorial imbalance.

Kennedy Appointment? Those who are booming Senator J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) for Secretary of State in the Kennedy Administration may have forgotten that he signed the Southern Manifesto against public school integration in 1956. This statement, which was signed by 19 Senators (not including Lyndon B. Johnson) and 77 House members from the South, upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal public facilities."

Liberals have made a big point about world reaction to evidences of racial feeling in the US. In senatorial corridors, the question is raised: How would the many new African republics react to the appointment of an American Secretary of State who had signed the Southern Manifesto?

Smearing the HCUA: The liberal press has launched its annual drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). The current attack is concentrated on a film produced by HCUA showing Communist-inspired riots against the Committee, which took place in San Francisco last May. The liberal press refuses to acknowledge that the riots were the results of Communist efforts.

"Forgery by film" is the cry of the Washington *Post*, which announced November 26, after "diligent inquiry," that attributing the riots to Communists "is wholly unjustified." In an "expose" of HCUA, *The Reporter* magazine claims the film of the riots contains significant distortions. *Crimson*, Harvard's student newspaper, blasts the Committee and the film.

The House Commitee on Un-American Activities admits to one error in the narration of the film: it alleges that labor boss Harry Bridges was on the scene before the riots, when, in fact, he did not appear until after their conclusion. The committee is preparing an item by item refutation of all other charges of distortion.

But what of the overriding question of whether the San Francisco riots were Communist inspired? In a report entitled "Communist Target—Youth," Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover gives a detailed account of how the Reds planned, staged and participated in the stormy demonstrations. He names numerous known Communists and describes what key role each played in "Operation Abolition"—the Red's code term for the project. Hoover says that immediately after the riots were over, national Communist party leader Gus Hall "congratulated the West Coast comrades for the initiative and leadership they displayed at all stages of the demonstrations."

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When queried, the *Crimson* at Harvard admitted that neither the editor nor the writer of its editorial attacking HCUA had read Hoover's report on the San Francisco riots.

Capitol Camera: Senator Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.) will soon begin committee hearings intended to prove that Kennedy will be "inheriting" from Eisenhower the depression the Democrats fear is ahead. The Democrats are always thinking of how to clobber the GOP. Republicans, on the other hand, are always hog-tied by the determination of their non-political leadership to keep to the high road. As an example, in 1953, Old Guard Republicans wanted to open the files on FDR's agreements at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, but the Sherman Adams Modern Republicans thought it would be "ungentlemanly" to re-open the old wounds.

• *Chester Bowles is receiving considerable publicity from Radio Moscow for his statements rapping US foreign policy. Bowles' statements on the "declining American prestige" and US policy mistakes in Asia, Latin America and Africa have all been publicized by the Reds. They note that Bowles "is considered one of the most likely candidates for the office of Secretary of State under the new Administration."*

• Biggest flop in the election campaign was Jimmy Hoffa who went all out to defeat 56 House members who supported Landrum-Griffin. Only one was beaten.

• *To nobody's surprise, the Communist Party of New York has lined up with the ultra-liberal wing of the state Democratic party to call for the scalp of Tammany boss Carmine DeSapio. C. P. State Chairman Clarence Hathaway calls for all "progressives" to unite against DeSapio and the more moderate Democrats.*

• While the liberals are picturing the average doctor as something akin to Shylock in their drive to ram through more Federally financed medical care next session, the American Medical Association has released the following statistics: (1) American physicians perform medical services worth more than $658 million annually; (2) 98 per cent of all physicians give free medical care; (3) free medical care has increased 10.6 per cent during the past five years.

• *New report on how nationalization works in Bolivia: since* 1953 *when tin mines were nationalized, production has slipped* 50 *per cent; it costs* $1.25 *to produce a pound of tin that sells for* $1; *there are no funds for exploration; and the miners —in this Socialist paradise—now make* $1 *daily whereas under private enterprise they made* $7 *daily.*

Germany—and Gold: When the press last week discussed the failure of Secretary of the Treasury Anderson to persuade the West German Government to pay in gold the expenses of US military forces on German soil, one episode was not mentioned. It was that German Defense Minister Strauss visited Washington in June and discussed the same matter —our dangerous lack of gold—with Pentagon officials. He strongly advised that the US not request his government to pay military expenses in Germany; that would be a tender political subject in a year leading up to a German general election.

Furthermore, the German Defense Minister is reported to have suggested that the US could, with German approval, cut down the imbalance further by reducing the number of US divisions east of the Rhine. The German army has increased rapidly in recent years and now has nine divisions, with three more coming along in '61. The five US divisions in Germany could be reduced, without impairing allied military strength, to two "token" divisions which would be left there mainly to preserve the "allied front" appearance. The White House has announced plans to cut spending by bringing home dependents of soldiers in Europe. Returning three whole divisions to the US would substantially diminish the American gold outflow which worries the Treasury.

Obit: Liberals last week produced some of their characteristically distorted thinking upon the death of Donald Richberg, author of *Labor Monopoly*, a searching and critical book on the subject of the evils of labor union power. They suggested that he had once been an "old liberal," but, after making money, had inevitably turned conservative or, as they put it, "reactionary." They missed the point of a great career.

True, Richberg many years ago had helped unions to organize and bargain collectively (he was once an attorney for railroad unions). But with the Thirties he developed some disillusionment with the American labor union movement, after noting the radical tendencies of the CIO and the growing political power of organized labor.

Essentially a product of the era when trust-busting and anti-business monopoly prevailed, a Bull Mooser and adversary of Big Business, Richberg quite naturally and logically emphasized in recent years the evil he feared most—monopoly; this time embodied in the dangerously growing power of the Labor Bosses. Many of his pieces on this theme appeared in HUMAN EVENTS and in 1957 he published *Labor Monopoly: A Clear and Present Danger* (Regnery), until then the first book for many years which had honestly probed the problem of compulsory unionism. Richberg ended honorably and consistently as he had begun, an anti-monopolist.

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

The worst betrayal of trust that any President could commit would be to accept whole hog the convention platform of a victorious party and to subordinate the four-year deliberative process of the President and the Congress to the four-day drafting process of non-elected members of a party platform committee.
—DEMOCRATIC SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD

Vol. XVII, No. 49 — Section VI December 8, 1960

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Does Rules Committee Obstruct Legislation?

By Clare Hoffman
Republican Congressman from Michigan

During the campaign we frequently heard—and we've had some letters since which charged—that the House Committee on Rules blocked the passage of legislation which a majority of the House desired to enact. That is not the situation.

In some sessions thousands of bills are introduced in the House of Representatives. From a practical standpoint it is impossible for the House or its committees to give extended consideration to all of them.

All bills are referred by the Speaker to one of 19 standing committees of the House, or perhaps on occasion to a special committee.

These committees, on which there is always a chairman with years of experience as well as members who have served comparatively long in the House, give careful consideration to the bills referred to them. The committee as a whole then has an opportunity to discuss, amend, reject or vote out for consideration by the House bills which it considers meritorious. The chairman then reports the bill out and it goes to the Rules Committee for consideration. That committee has a membership of 12-8 from the majority party, 4 from the minority party.

The Rules Committee then hears any who may desire to appear in favor of, or in opposition to, the bill. After hearing interested parties and undoubtedly consulting the leadership of the dominant party, and sometimes the leaders of the opposition, the Rules Committee either sends the bill to the House for consideration or rejects it.

But the decision of the Rules Committee refusing to report out a bill—contrary to popular assumption—is not final. The House is *not* "gagged."

If the Rules Committee refuses to report a bill to the House for consideration, a majority of the House members—219 in number—can by simply placing their names on a petition on the Clerk's desk force the bill before the House for consideration. The truth is, that always—at all times—a *majority* of the House can decide whether or not it will consider, enact into law, or reject, a particular bill.

The Rules provide for another method of overruling a decision of the Rules Committee. On Calendar Wednesday of each week, a roll of the standing committees of the House is called alphabetically and

the chairman of any committee who has been so authorized by his committee can call up for action by the House any bill pending before his committee.

The truth is that the Rules Committee—and it is obvious that with thousands of bills introduced some committee or individual must screen and determine those worthy of consideration by the House—*cannot* prevent consideration or passage of any bill—that a majority of the House can at any time overrule a decision of the House Committee on Rules, pass or reject any proposed measure. True, those of us who have some pet bill which for personal reasons we would like to have enacted into legislation and which Rules refuses to report out are always criticizing, finding fault with the Rules Committee. But it is the Rules Committee which enables us to function effectively. Without it or some other screening individual or body, there would be chaos in the House. No one has yet found a better method of expediting legislative business.

For years an overwhelming majority of the House has found the Rules Committee to be necessary if we are to transact the public's business. The clamor condemning the Committee's actions usually comes from some ambitious, disappointed individual or group which seeks but has been denied a special advantage or benefit.

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Public Power Issue Loses Voter Appeal

By Raymond Moley

Since Senator Kennedy pitched his plea for public power in states in which vast Federal spending has been demanded for government electric power projects, it can be fairly asked, now that the returns are in, whether that old argument has any further political magic. In the Northwest, in the Mountain States, in California, and in the Tennessee Valley, public power has been a sacred cow. Senators and Congressmen from these states have been clamoring for their share of the pork year after year. President Eisenhower has been assailed by them and by Candidates Kennedy and Johnson for his temporary "no new starts" policy.

A Democratic subcommittee of the Senate, including Senator Gruening of Alaska, went to Russia this year and returned with tidings that the Soviet was moving into hydroelectric power with giant strides and then put in a plug for the fantastic Rampart Dam on the Yukon in Alaska. Kennedy himself quoted some erroneous figures on the relative production rate of electricity between the US and the USSR. Under the New Frontier, we were to start in where FDR started with the TVA.

But, to use a familiar campaign word, the "prestige" of public power carried no weight in the minds of voters. Alaska chose Nixon. He swept the Northwest where there was much ado about the Hells Canyon project. Wyoming, the home of Senator O'Mahoney, elected a Republican Senator. Tennessee and Kentucky rejected the party which originated the TVA. Even in Oklahoma, in which there has been great agitation for vast outlays on the Arkansas River to make Tulsa a seaport, Democrats voted for the Republican candidates Nixon and Lodge.

In the state of Washington, where there was a vote in Asotin County for the formation of a public utility district, 77 per cent of the voters showed their preference to be served by the privately owned Washington Water Power Company. In another county in Washington, the voters by a margin of three to one elected a new chairman of their public utility district board, thus approving his opposition to the proposal to condemn the properties of the Puget Sound Power and Light Company.

Far to the east of Washington, in Ohio where 50 years ago municipal ownership was hailed as "real democracy in action," voters in Greenfield declared their wish to sell their municipal plant to the Dayton Power and Light Company. Three years ago another town voted the same preference.

And in the farm states, where the Rural Electrification Administration, one of the pillars of the New Deal, has in the past been regarded as the farmers' salvation, Nixon prevailed decisively.

All this shows how long a reform, once popular and regarded as necessary, remains a political issue after all rational justification for it has passed away. Politicians, despite their brave words about understanding the needs of the future, too often are, like Byron's Niobe, holding an empty urn "whose holy dust was scattered long ago."

New Zealand Ousts Socialists

From the New York Daily News

New Zealand voters [week before last] heaved out their three-year-old Labor (Socialist) government and returned the National (conservative) Party to power. Three years of government interference in every field of life was enough for the New Zealanders. We hope this upheaval was noted by President-to-be Kennedy, who has a lot of socialistic friends that are more than anxious to stick his Administration's snout into the private lives and concerns of all of us.

The Kennedy Diary

• The following entry comes from the *Washington Daily News*: "President-elect Kennedy's supporters often compared him to Franklin D. Roosevelt during the campaign.

"But when the movie 'Sunrise at Campobello,' about FDR's struggle to recover from polio, was shown to Kennedy and some of his aides at Palm Beach a few nights ago, the President-elect said he didn't find it very interesting. He asked if any of the others would like to see the rest of the film, turned it off when none spoke up."

• Jacqueline Kennedy's step-father, Hugh Auchincloss, and her mother have offered for sale their palatial home at McLean, Virginia, about 15 miles outside of Washington, for $850,000. They will move into their Washington home, which does not require "quite such a large staff of servants to maintain."

• "How you feeling, Chicky Baby?" asked JFK's sister Pat (Mrs. Peter Lawford) as she bussed entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr., at the latter's wedding.

• Speaking of the Britt-Davis wedding, Broadway columnist Dorothy Kilgallen writes: ". . . I am inclined to regard as logical the theory of those who say the wedding was postponed until after Election Day because Mrs. Peter Lawford was bound to attend and kiss the groom, and the presence of Senator Kennedy's sister at the inter-racial marriage might have cost the Democratic contender plenty of votes among Southern segregationists."

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Immorality In the Name of Freedom

By Holmes Alexander

Not far from my house there goes on a man-hunt for the kidnaper, ravisher and killer of a 7-year-old boy. If the fiend is captured, much of what will then happen is predictable.

Moralizing nihilists will say that the criminal is not wicked but "sick." Sentimentalists will use the opportunity to inveigh against capital punishment. Many legal dodges will be employed to get a verdict based on insanity pleadings. Any attempt by the bereaved parents or the aroused community to lynch the criminal will be deplored as comparable to the crime itself. Finally, all but persons very close to the tragedy will shrug it off as a thing that "will happen"—and the whole dreadful affair will fade from general memory.

There is a good deal wrong with these predictable reactions. The American community, and much of the Western World, are the "sick" ones. We have a scientific and literary culture which increasingly contends that the differences are negligible, if not nonexistent, between right and wrong, normality and perversion. The culture of intellectualism also absolves killers, traitors, cheaters and public cowards from any deep personal responsibility. There is at once the nihilistic evasionism which says that nothing can be done to prevent these crimes, and there is the pseudosophistication which says that nobody's really to blame.

Two recent books give the lie to these theses. In "The Smut Peddlers," James Jackson Kilpatrick gives us a broad and morally aroused treatment of the title-theme. Laws, court cases, social service testimony and journalistic investigation are all between these covers. Kilpatrick, celebrated editor of the Richmond *News Leader*, has the classical suspicion and resentment which good newspapermen hold toward censorship and "Comstockery." It is easier for a conscientious journalist than it is for most conscientious men to shrug off pornography as mainly proving "boys will be boys." But Kilpatrick lays hold of this nettle with both hands. One of his witnesses, a juvenile court physician in Philadelphia, summarizes:

"Our prisons, correctional institutions, and mental hospitals are jammed with many of the unfortunates who were prey to pornography. Many will never recover . . . Pornography is an insidious threat to moral, mental and physical health . . . it incites to immoral and antisocial activity."

So here is where crime prevention could begin. The beautiful idea of true intellectual freedom, as expressed in the Bill of Rights, was never intended to license the sale of smut to the young and feebleminded. The country has a right to self-protection in this field.

In "The Caricature of Love," Dr. Hervey Cleckley, of the University of Georgia Hospital, steers into deeper and more mysterious seas. He notes that the post-Victorian emancipation from sexual prudery has become complete—but with what results? Has this freedom achieved the sexual utopia which was its purpose and justification? Are the erotic excitements higher because of Bikinis? Has voluptuousness discovered its New Frontier in the banishment of chastity?

Dr. Cleckley looks for his answers in 20th century literature. A Scott Fitzgerald hero, Amory Blaine, reacts to his first kiss with "revulsion . . . disgust, loathing." An Ernest Hemingway heroine, Lady Brett, runs wild with her lovers in France and Spain and derives, as Cleckley observes, "little more than ennui from her exploits." Normal sexuality is only one phase of the emancipation. By 1947 the most flagrant homosexual "world figure" in letters, Andre Gide, was given the Nobel Prize for literature. The current Pulitzer Prize novel treats with homosexuality in the Senate. Dr. Cleckley writes:

"It is my contention that many distorted concepts of sexuality . . . are being promoted today. In the name of liberalism and advancement . . . "

Victorianism was bliss, by comparison—what folly to be free!

THE FREUDIAN ETHIC, by Richard LaPiere (Duell, Sloan and Pearce), mentioned in Frank Chodorov's article beginning on page 619, can be purchased at the retail price of $5 from HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

Japan Votes Confidence In US Prestige Abroad

From the Chicago Tribune

The "prestige" of the United States in foreign countries was a leading issue in the recent election campaign. Senator Kennedy and other Democrats charged that during the Eisenhower Administration this country had fallen far in the esteem of its allies and of neutral nations. The rioting in Japan which caused President Eisenhower to cancel a visit there was cited as an example of the growing unpopularity of America and Americans.

Support for this line of argument cannot be found in the election returns just reported from Japan. The conservative Liberal Democratic party of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda won a substantial victory, taking 281 of the 467 seats in the ruling house of representatives. The Socialists won 140, the Democratic Socialists 14, and the Communists 3. Together the three left wing parties got slightly more than one-third of the seats, and thus can block long range plans of the conservatives to re-write the constitution, but the results can hardly be considered a repudiation of the policy of friendship for the United States.

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Chicago's Election Frauds

From the Peoria Journal Star

Don't hold your breath until they prove vote frauds in Chicago. How are we going to prove anything like that when the agencies for declaring fraud are controlled by the same machine that committed the frauds in the first place?

And the only real question about fraud there is on how grand a scale?

The reports of highly reputable poll watchers are vicious—citizens lined up and told what names and addresses to give at the polling place! Obviously, to vote other people's registration, dead, alive or moved away!

We have heard reports of people who went to vote in Chicago and were told, "You can't vote again!" In other words, the machine had already voted for them! Their votes were stolen outright from their registration.

We have heard of poll watcher reports that the only instruction given voters on the use of voting machines in some spots was to tell them to pull certain levers designated by numbers—they didn't even tell them who they were voting for!

This is serious and it needs to be exposed so far as possible—not because of any effect on the past election so much as for protection in the future.

We cannot have the whole democratic process in Illinois made a mockery by a system whereby a machine vote in Chicago can improperly steal away everyone else's on every statewide issue or selection.

Nationalizing Public Schools

Letter from Fred E. Wright to the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*

A curious imbecility has lately come to the fore as a political issue. Spawned by bureaucrats, fomented by misguided school teachers, lip-serviced by politicians, it has gained enough momentum through the occasional use of a prominent name or two to reach disastrous proportions. Which all goes to prove that if something is repeated loud enough and often enough, people will come to believe it.

I speak of the so-called need for Federal aid to education. I speak of Federally-approved school children attending Federally-approved school buildings, using Federally-approved textbooks, riding Federally-approved school buses, eating Federally-approved menus in Federally-approved cafeterias, taught by Federally-approved school teachers using a Federally-prescribed curriculum. I speak of Pennsylvania supporting the schools of Arkansas, and Arkansas doing the same for South Dakota.

Is it too much to hope that the American people will not let themselves fall for this unconstitutional solution to a problem which each community must face for itself? Is it too much to expect that Pennsylvania, and each other State, will decide what its own needs are in education and continue to solve its own problems in this field?

Uninhibited Youngsters

From the New York Daily News

Not long ago Dr. William H. Mills, education professor at the University of Michigan, warned that children will develop "warped personalities" unless they're allowed to win arguments with their parents now and then.

We are reassured. It is now clear that American children will go out into the world with personalities less warped than any kids in the world.

Many Voices Help Shape Goldwater's Philosophy

By Senator Barry Goldwater

Since these columns first commenced their appearance in the Los Angeles *Times* in January of 1960, I have frequently been asked how I can find the time, in view of my other responsibilities, to supervise the preparation and delivery of a column such as this on a three-times-a-week basis.

The proper answer is not complicated or obscure. What you have read in these columns is a reflection of conservative thinking from Edmund Burke down to our modern times. The conservative philosophy is not the property of any individual—it actually represents the combined efforts of thousands of thinkers who have contributed to man's understanding of man and his political institutions.

I am deeply indebted to the great conservative writers of history as well as to the contemporary expressions of the ancient truth of the conservative doctrine.

The writings of Dr. Russell Kirk from "The Conservative Mind" to "The American Cause" have been a source of inspiration for a number of these columns. "Human Events," the excellent weekly Washington newsletter, is an indispensable support in this undertaking.

The "Essays on Liberty," published in 1952 by the Foundation for Economic Education; the writings of Dr. Leonard Read, John Chamberlain, Morrie Ryskind, and a host of authors who appear in national publications, have contributed much to these expressions of the conservative viewpoint.

Adams and Locke and Jefferson and Lincoln and George Santayana and T. S. Eliot and Arnold Toynbee have all expressed many of the basic convictions I have tried to emphasize in this space.

News magazines and the news columns of the daily papers—particularly the editorial sections—supply an insight on current thinking, some conservative, some of the opposite viewpoint.

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Van Doren, Payola and the Freudian Ethic

By FRANK CHODOROV

SOME 225 students at Queens College and New York University were queried on their reactions to the morals of Charles Van Doren soon after his confession of guilt in the television quiz hoax; he had, it will be recalled, garnered many thousands of dollars by answering numerous questions of fact, ostensibly from memory, but it turned out on investigation that he had been fed the questions in advance and came to the quiz well prepared. When this fact was revealed, he confessed that it was so, and the great audience that had been breathless week after week by this apparently marvelous display of knowledge and memory were let down; they had been betrayed. So, the question came up: what was he guilty of, if anything?

Two professors of sociology, Kurt and Gladys Engle Lang, put the question to these 225 students. Only one of seven unequivocally condemned him, as morally deficient; he was a cheat, and doubly to be condemned because of his intellectual background. The other six-sevenths divided more or less evenly among those who saw "no personal wrong in what he had done," those who "recognized some minor responsibility for his participation in the hoax but were completely ready to forget and forgive," and those who "were sympathetic but expressed some mild misgivings about his role in the affair."

To the sympathetic majority, the Lang study points out, "Van Doren had acted the part of the tragic hero caught by the force of circumstances greater than he, which finally overpowered him. Publicly confessing, he had demonstrated his sincerity and thereby vindicated himself."

Of 43 sociology majors included in the group, not one was critical of Van Doren, which fact leads the Langs to remark: "Social determinism . . . leads students to locate responsibility in external circumstances and to define Van Doren, whose side they took, as the underdog." This is a significant statement.

Keeping in mind the attitude of these students in the Van Doren affair, let us turn to a recent book, *The Freudian Ethic**, by Richard La Piere, a professor of sociology at Stanford University. In the light of what La Piere says about the changing psychology of the American people, the Lang Report is a telling argument.

For some four hundred years, prior to this generation, the idea that man was a self-reliant and therefore responsible person prevailed in the West, and particularly in this country; the idea found expression in innovation and enterprise and a willingness to suffer the consequences of one's actions. During the Middle Ages, and still prevalent in the East, a sort of fatalistic concept of the nature of man took root, by which the human being was held to be condemned to live out his years under conditions imposed on him by nature; the thought that man could change his environment and improve his condition did not occur to the medieval man.

And yet, somewhat unaccountably, certain individuals did break out of the bonds of this tradition, began trading, sea-faring adventures, scientific experimentation, invention and manufacturing. These innovations took hold and expanded, and out of these experiences there evolved a psychic phenomenon, which has been called the Protestant ethic. (The term "ethic" designates a people's character or ideal of character, rather than a moral code.) The name is unfortunate in that it implies a correspondence with the Protestant faith, while in fact the emergence of the Protestant ethic and the Reformation was merely chronologically coincidental.

BESIDES HOLDING high the virtues of enterprise and self-reliance, the Protestant ethic stressed certain ethical absolutes. It held the individual to be possessed with a free will, of a conscience, and therefore was responsible to himself, to society and to his God. He was in all respects accountable for his acts. The ethic is sometimes identified with the regime of contract, rather than that of status, in which integrity plays a most important part. There was no way of getting away from one's duty by putting the blame on circumstances or environment or society. He had to live by the moral code or suffer the consequences of social ostracism.

The West did very well under this ethic. Its finest expression is to be found in the statement, in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Given freedom from political repression or interference, every man could exercise his gifts in ways that seemed good to him, to the fulfillment of his own concept of the pursuit of happiness. The sky was the limit. In a social climate induced by this ideal, industry flourished, experimentation was encouraged, science developed, the market place overflowed with an abundance of satisfactions and the man of lowliest origin could get to the top. Even those untouched by initiative found greater reward for their contribution of labor to all this productive enterprise; wages rose.

At the beginning of this century Sigmund Freud, the Viennese psychologist, introduced a new concept of the nature of man, one which, for a variety of reasons, has taken hold of American thought. In brief, it comes to this: Man comes into this world biologically unfit to meet the conditions put upon him by society. "The womb is the perfect environment of man, for here there is total adjustment and all is pleasure and there are no pains. Birth is a shock, a traumatic experience, for with birth the infant enters a world of pain and consciousness." And from that moment on, the individual is in un-

*Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York.

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conscious conflict with the world around him, suffering one neurosis after another, until death comes to his rescue. We are all, therefore, neurotics in various degrees, and the most neurotic of all are those enterprising individuals who expend their energies in the search for a materialistic substitute for the elusive warmth, comfort and security of the prenatal state.

Freud made much of the sex impulse, but we need not go into that. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that to him the instinctive equipment of man is contrasocial; he is always against society and society is always against him. In order to make the best of this vale of tears, it is necessary for man to make his adjustment to the conditions imposed upon him by this antagonistic world. That's the best he can do. He cannot change society, he cannot hope to make his environment conform to the prenatal painlessness for which he constantly yearns, unconsciously, of course. And, here is the point of significance: society is to blame for his neurotic condition; it is always against him. Freud hated society.

Freud was a doctor of medicine, which fact gave his ideas some standing in the profession, and, though at first the doctors avoided his theories like the plague, they eventually came around to sending their hypochondriac patients to the disciples of Freud, who were also doctors of medicine; after all, they were merely referring the patient to another doctor, one who had some pretensions to competence in the curing of neurotics. Freudianism thus became "scientific." That made it acceptable to psychologists, social workers, political scientists and sociologists. A cult was born.

CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY, the socialistically minded took to Freudianism because it gave them a "scientific" basis for their theory of environmentalism. Since society is to blame for the conflicts of the individual, it is up to society to correct its deficiencies, which can only be done by the intervention of government. Juvenile delinquency is not the fault of the individual, it is the fault of society, and society had better do something about it, like providing better housing, larger relief checks for indigent parents and amusements for the youngsters. Progressive educationists also found comfort in Freudianism, for it "proved" the need of permitting the child to wend his way through school, rather than to require him to master certain disciplines; after all, these disciplines are prescribed by society, which is the enemy of man. Crime became a social rather than an individual, deficiency, and criminals were to be treated as patients rather than as morally responsible persons. Economists made use of the Freudian concept to promote their ideas on government intervention; it was up to the government to do something about the maldistribution of wealth, which results in neuroticisms. Under the influence of Freudian thought, political science turned to political maternalism for theory. The beatnik is the comical aspect of Freudianism.

AND SO, a new set of social ideas, beliefs and assumptions have been validated, threatening to replace those of the Protestant ethic. This new complex is called the Freudian ethic. It does not matter that there is no scientific evidence to support the Freudian idea that man is born with biological urges or needs that set him at odds with the society in which he lives. What does matter is that the thought has taken hold and is being acted upon, culturally, politically, institutionally. And to such an extent that the American character, based on the assumption that man is born with a soul, is endowed with free will and is responsible for his behavior, is gradually being undermined.

The case of the students who exonerated Van Doren is in point. These students may never have heard of Freud or the Freudian ethic. Yet their willingness to overlook his part in the fraud, their inclination to blame "circumstances" beyond his control for his misdeed, or to excuse him on the ground that it is "human nature" to acquire wealth by fraudulent means, is all in line with Freudianism, with the idea that society is at war with the individual and in this unequal contest the individual is entitled to any means to gain his point. Of significance is the fact that none of the 43 sociology majors condemned Van Doren; sociology is a course in which one is most likely to meet up with Freudian ideas.

The Lang paper concludes with this telling thought: "The idea that certain objective norms must be defended, even if, realistically, they are sometimes hard to live up to . . . is the kind of undemocratic thought alien to most students. One observes in mild form the pattern of guilt whereby persons make common cause against overly restrictive dictates of society." That is, the students find the Protestant ethic a bit shopworn.

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The Coming Gold Crisis

WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

By HANS SENNHOLZ
Chairman, Economics Department, Grove City College, Pennsylvania

PRESIDENT-ELECT John Kennedy must be charged with sole responsibility for the coming dollar and gold crisis. The prospect of four years of easy money policies, which Kennedy is committed to pursue in concurrence with the Democratic platform, cannot fail to debilitate the dollar. In fact, it is likely that the US dollar with its present gold content and purchasing power may not even survive the few weeks between the Kennedy election and his inauguration.

Of course, we do not imply that John Kennedy's campaign utterances and the prospects of his New Frontier regime created a new problem. Inflation and credit expansion as integrated Federal policies have been with us since 1933 when John's political god-father moved into the White House. It has reduced the purchasing power of the dollar by more than 50 per cent and continues to gnaw at its value. The gold problem did not become acute until 1958 because inflation was a world-wide affliction that afforded no escape. In recent years, however, the return of fiscal and monetary sanity to Europe was bound to point up the perseverance of the American inflation disease.

Gold, like any other commodity, tends to move from places of low value to places where it is valued more highly. It tends to leave countries where the currency is depreciated and flows to countries where its value is stable. A government that depreciates its currency and thus makes commodity prices rise drives gold out of its country. In fact, gold is so sensitive to monetary policies that a mere anticipation of inflation and credit expansion induces it to move.

During the 1930's, when FDR devalued the dollar by 40% and strenuously endeavored to revive the economy through public works and low interest rate policies, the world's gold had nowhere to go. The European governments eagerly devalued and depreciated their own currencies. And the rise of Hitler in Europe made the United States a relatively safe harbor for Europe's liquid capital and gold. During the 1940's there was monetary chaos in most parts of the world. No matter what Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman did to the dollar through deficit financing and easy money policies, most foreign governments depreciated their own currencies at an even faster rate. Gold thus was kept captive in the United States. But with the return of European monetary stability and sanity the situation was bound to change. While the United States government was continuing its low interest rate and credit creation policies, most European nations retreated from inflationary socialism and welfarism. And immediately American gold began to move to Europe.

John Kennedy now has pledged to disprove both traditional monetary theory and the lessons of recent history. He wants to make credit even cheaper in order to enhance the people's welfare and well-being, and also continue to enjoy the present dollar value. He wants to eat his cake and have it. But such a policy cannot fail to lead to dollar depreciation and devaluation.

Having observed the Socialist and Keynesian spenders for the last 30 years, we must expect President Kennedy to react to the gold problem in one or several of the following ways.

HE MAY ATTEMPT to ignore the gold problem. But to ignore the problem and its causes is to invite our bankruptcy in international payments. A continuation of gold losses obviously must soon deplete our reserves. At the present, the free gold reserve above the required currency reserve of $12 billion has shrunken to less than $7 billion. And in 1959 alone the United States suffered an international payments deficit of $5 billion. It is obvious that at the present rate of loss the day of bankruptcy is drawing near.

It will come suddenly in the form of an international crisis. In anticipation of further dollar depreciation, foreign depositors and American capitalists will shift their funds to foreign depositories. Foreign bankers presently hold more than $20 billion in deposits and liquid dollar claims. For instance, in June of this year Canadians owned $2.38 billion, Germans $2.2 billion, Japanese $1.4 billion, Englishmen $1.3 billion, Italians $1.1 billion and the Swiss $930 million. A foreign panic would quickly decimate the $7 billion of free gold reserves.

But why should foreign depositors suddenly and frantically withdraw their funds? The answer is simple. An American payment crisis, which may come in the form of a sudden gold payment suspension or dollar devaluation or imposition of exchange controls, would inflict huge losses on foreign depositors. A devaluation of merely 25%, which is a conservative assumption considering the 40% dollar devaluation by President Roosevelt in 1933, would inflict a $5 billion loss on foreign depositors. A suspension of gold payments, which would cause the dollar to fall to a similar percentage discount as to gold and foreign money, would inflict similar losses. And foreign exchange control may "block" or "freeze" all foreign capital or, at least, a large percentage of it. This is why foreign depositors must be ready to withdraw their funds quickly.

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It is true that the Kennedy Administration may attempt to persuade foreign central bankers to ignore our payment difficulties. Through persuasion, coercion or plain bribery (by means of additional foreign aid) a foreign central banker may be induced to maintain his dollar balances while our gold reserves continue to dwindle. But the foreign banker who heeds the Kennedy advice runs the risk of staggering losses. He invites disaster to his own career.

WE SERIOUSLY DOUBT that foreign bankers can be persuaded for long to ignore our gold dilemma. In this age of socialism, New Dealism and Frontierism, no rational person credits a government with monetary integrity and honesty. Bankers —and especially central bankers—probably learned the lesson in 1931 when the British government abandoned the gold standard and again in 1949 when it devalued the pound. In 1931, especially, France and Holland suffered huge losses on their sterling holdings by trusting the words of Bank of England Governor Montagu who assured them that England would remain on the gold standard. But two days after his solemn assurance the English government suspended gold payments. In 1949 Sir Stafford Cripps, then Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer, promised 13 times not to devalue the pound value. And yet a few hours after his last assurance, he suddenly announced the devaluation. How can anyone still trust a government in monetary matters?

This is why we believe that the American payment crisis will develop soon. It may even come during the remaining days of the Eisenhower Administration, which would afford Kennedy the welcome occasion for laying all blame on Republican doorsteps.

Its effects will ultimately be felt by every citizen of the United States. A suspension of gold payment or a devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold and foreign money will accelerate the rise of domestic prices, which will hurt not only all savers and creditors but also every member of the economy. Such an acceleration of inflation may in turn invite a multiplication and intensification of government controls. In short, in order to "fight inflation" the government may impose controls over credit, prices, wages, and rents. Indeed, a payment crisis may afford the occasion to the Kennedy Administration to usher in socialism.

Undoubtedly President Kennedy and his Harvard advisers will endeavor to reduce the payments deficits through a variety of import restrictions. But as such measures do not approach the causes of the gold problem, which are deficit financing and low interest-rate policies, they will not only be futile but also harmful. Import restrictions merely sever foreign trade relations and destroy our export business. To reduce imports is to reduce an equal amount of exports. It throws our export industries into depression and unemployment.

Or the Kennedy ambassadors may attempt to persuade those nations that are strong in gold and dollar holdings to embark upon aid to underdeveloped countries in order to give relief to the US Treasury. But there cannot be any doubt that foreign enthusiasm for giveaway programs in which they are not the recipients of US aid is very dim. And even if England, Germany, and Italy were to embark upon foreign giveaways, the US dollar, which suffers from easy money predilection, would not be affected thereby. The US gold problem is created by the monetary authorities in Washington and not in London, Bonn, Rome, or the Congo.

THE LAST RATIONALE of the Kennedy Administration undoubtedly will be foreign exchange control. This is the nationalization and bureaucratization of all foreign trade. The importer of Brazilian coffee will have to apply for gold or pesos allocations by the Federal government. Bureaucrats will decide whether or not the foreign purchase is desirable from "national" and "social" points of view and whether or not such business warrants gold and foreign money allocations. And foreign exchange control requires American exporters to sell their foreign earnings at arbitrary exchange rates to the government.

In short, we must anticipate a minute regulation of foreign trade which is tantamount to total government control over this important sector of our economy. Indeed, foreign exchange control will establish a bureaucratic tyranny over our foreign trade and related activities. Through their allocation of gold and foreign money, bureaucrats may, for instance, decide the quantity of newsprint a publisher may import, or choose the books he may buy abroad. Foreign exchange control may be the first Kennedy step towards a Socialistic Republic of America.

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Harry Dexter White and the War With Japan

By ANTHONY KUBEK
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THE PROVOCATION for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor can be traced indirectly to a memorandum formulated by Harry Dexter White, a Communist agent. The story begins in August, 1941, when Prime Minister Konoye of Japan, realizing the situation with the United States was getting worse, made a proposal to meet with President Roosevelt at Honolulu.

Ambassador Grew was so deeply impressed with the sincerity of Konoye's plea that he immediately sent a dispatch to Secretary Hull and urged, "with all the force of his command, for the sake of avoiding the obviously growing possibility of an utterly futile war between Japan and the United States, that this Japanese proposal not be turned aside without very prayerful consideration . . . . The opportunity is here presented . . . for an act of the highest statesmanship . . . with the possible overcoming thereby of apparently unsurmountable obstacles to peace hereafter in the Pacific." * But Secretary Hull rejected this advice and remarked that before there could be a meeting between the President and Prince Konoye, there would first have to be an agreement upon basic principles of policy. ** He knew that such an agreement was not possible.

Although tension was mounting in Tokyo, Japanese officials did not lose hope that an agreement could be made to avert war. Ambassador Nomura was instructed to present a *modus vivendi* to the Secretary of State, but this was rejected when it became certain the Chinese and the British would not agree. However, Mr. Hull went ahead and drafted a *modus vivendi* of his own which President Roosevelt regarded as a "fair proposition" but he was "not very hopeful" of its success. ***

At noon on November 25, Secretaries Stimson and Knox met at the White House together with General Marshall and Admiral Stark. The discussion dealt mainly with the Japanese situation concerning the intercepted message fixing the November 29 deadline.**** . The President "brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked perhaps (as soon as) next Monday, for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning and the question was *how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition.*" * The meeting took place before Hull sent his ultimatum on November 26.

The next morning Stimson heard from Hull over the telephone that the latter had "about made up his mind" not to go through with his plan for a three months' truce but, instead to "kick the whole thing over" and tell the Japanese that he has no proposition at all. The decision for a *modus vivendi* was dropped and the President gave his blessing to the shelving of it in his morning interview with Hull on November 26.

GENERAL MARSHALL testified before the congressional committee investigating the attack on Pearl Harbor that, if the ninety-day truce had been effected, the United States might never have become involved in the war at all. The reason was that a delay by the Japanese from December, 1941, into January, 1942, might have resulted in a change of Japanese opinion as to the wisdom of the attack because of the collapse of the German front before Moscow in December, 1941. **

Why did Secretary Hull change his mind about a *modus vivendi?* It is difficult to get a precise sequence of events which led to the final decision. However, factors that must have influenced the decision were the strong protests from the Chinese and Mr. Churchill's views which were received during the night of November 25. *** Another factor which cannot be dismissed was the pressure exerted by Communist sympathizers in the Institute of Pacific Relations. On November 25, Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University, a specialist on the Far East, dispatched an anxious cable to Presidential Assistant Lauchlin Currie arguing against any agreement between the United States and Japan on a *modus vivendi.* **** Currie immediately went into action. But on November 28 when he lunched with Edward C. Carter, Secretary-General to the Pacific Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, he was no longer worried. Hull had made up his mind to kick the *modus vivendi* over," and on November 26 had submitted to the Japanese Ambassador ten conditions which Japan found represented so stiff a price for peace that war was now a foregone conclusion.

"I should think," Carter noted on November 29, "that Currie probably had a terribly anxious time for the past week. For a few days it looked as

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* US Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan*: 1931-1941 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), II, p. 565.

** Oral statement handed by Secretary Hull to Ambassador Nomura, October 2, 1941, *Ibid.*, pp. 656-61.

*** US Congress, Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, *Hearings Before the Joint Committee On The Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack*, 79th Congress Second Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), Part 14, p. 1142.

**** *Ibid.*, Part 12, p. 165.

* *Italics mine.* Henry L. Stimson's *Diary*, November 25, 1941, *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 5433.

** *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part 39, p. 502; Part 2, p. 5177; Part 3, p. 1149.

*** Prime Minister Churchill to President Roosevelt, November 26, 1941, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part 4, p. 1300.

**** Owen Lattimore to Lauchlin Currie, November 25, 1941, *Institute of Pacific Relations, Hearings*, Part 1, p. 156.

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though Hull was in danger of selling China and America and Britain down the river." * But now everything was all right. What Joseph C. Grew called "an utterly futile war" with Japan was now directly ahead.

On the afternoon of November 26, 1941, Secretary Hull abandoned all thought of a truce with Japan and put in final shape a ten-point proposal. Both he and the President knew this program would be rejected by Japan. The Japanese Ambassadors were given an ultimatum reading: "The Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indochina. ** Both Ambassadors were aghast at the "sudden change of attitude." *** It is very significant that the ultimatum presented by Hull to the Japanese was based upon an explosive memorandum written by Harry Dexter White, a Communist agent. ****

On November 18, 1941, Secretary Morgenthau sent to Secretary Hull a long memorandum drafted by Mr. White with reference to the terms for peace that should be presented to Japan. ***** These terms were so stiff that White knew that Japan could not accept them. He was anxious for a war between Japan and the United States because such a conflict would relieve Japanese pressure upon Russia's Far Eastern flank. Russia had over 200,000 men facing Japan in the Far East. These troops were desperately needed in the war against Germany.

On November 19, Maxwell Hamilton, Chief of the Far Eastern Division of the Department of State, revised the White memorandum to a slight degree. He found the memorandum "the most constructive I have yet seen." ****** Secretary Hull had both the White memorandum and the Maxwell revision before him when he drafted the ultimatum of November 26. It is significant that in this ultimatum eight of the drastic demands of the White memorandum found a place. In other words, Harry Dexter White, a Communist agent, helped in an important way to draft the ultimatum that provided war between Japan and the United States. This was the primary Soviet aim in the Far East.

Morgenthau was fearful that the American public would not like the way he had helped to precipitate war between the United States and Japan, and it was significant that he refused to permit investigators to look at his diary for December 7, 1941. ** It is unlikely that the diary entries for that date will be read for many years.

With reference to the Communist drive to involve the United States and Japan in a war, the following remarks by Benjamin Gitlow, a devoted Communist before breaking with the party, are pertinent:

> As far back as 1927 when I was in Moscow, the attitude toward the United States in the event of war was discussed. Privately, it was the opinion of all the Russian leaders to whom I spoke that the rivalry between the United States and Japan must actually break out into war between these two.
>
> The Russians were hopeful that the war would break out soon, because that would greatly secure the safety of Russian Siberian borders and would so weaken Japan that Russia would no longer have to fear an attack from her in the east. Stalin's hopes, through the activities of the American Communist party, to create a public opinion in the United States that would favor a war, presumably in defense of democracy against encroachment of fascism, but actually against Japan. Stalin is perfectly willing to let Americans die in defense of the Soviet Union even if they are not members of the Communist party . . . ." ***

Since 1933 one of the main objectives in Soviet policy had been to maneuver America into war with Japan. Japan was a serious threat to Soviet desires in the Far East. If her power was broken, there would be no difficulty in realizing Soviet objectives in Asia. The Roosevelt Administration, wittingly or unwittingly, followed the Soviet line and Harry Dexter White, an important and trusted official in the Administration, drafted a note to Japan that produced the war for which Roosevelt had long been looking.

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* *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 157.

** Oral statement handed by Secretary Hull to Ambassador Nomura and Kurusu, November 26, 1941, *US and Japan*: 1931-1941, II, 766-770.

** *New Yorker*, October 26, 1946, p. 24.

*** *Far Eastern Military Tribunal*, Document No. 3105.

*** Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess* (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1940), pp. 485-486. It is true that the Soviet Union constantly feared Great Britain would make a separate peace and received a great scare from Hess's flight to Scotland, and also true that Japan's attack on America would make a separate peace unlikely.

**** Robert Morris, *No Wonder We Are Losing* (New York: The Bookmailer, 1958), p. 133.

***** Memorandum by Secretary Morgenthau, November 17, 1941, *Foreign Relations*, 1941, IV, pp. 606-613.

****** Maxwell Hamilton to Secretary Hull, November 19, 1941, *Ibid.*, pp. 622-625.

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